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ROBERT BLATCHFORD WARNS WORKERS
THAT BRAINS COUNT AS WELL
AS BRAWN

SIDNEY WEBB'S VIEW OF THE SOCIALIST
INTERNATIONAL

OFFICIAL ORGAN,
FIFTH SUNDAY
MEETING ASSOCIATION
OF CANADA

Montreal, October 2nd, 1920

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Robert Blatchford's Warning to Workers; Brains As Well As Brawn Make the World's Wealth

(ROBERT BLATCHFORD in *Sunday Chronicle*, London.)

Is it any use trying to reason quietly with our excited workers in these noisy times? Is there any chance that an old Socialist and labor champion will be listened to by the disciples of the young revolutionary hot-heads of to-day?

I suppose there's no harm in trying, one must do what one can, therefore I will once more offer some old Socialist thoughts to the new Socialism—if it can be called Socialism—with its unsound economics, its direct action, its Council of Action, and all the latest short cuts to the undesirable Utopia of Proletarian Dictatorship.

IN the first place, my dear young friends, no sound or enduring theory can be built upon a foundation of falsehood or error. The first essential in the understanding of any problem of human relations is truth. We cannot trim the truth to fit our theories. If our theories are to be any practical use they must be made to fit the truth.

It is no use lying to ourselves or to each other. Nor can the false be made true by shouting it aloud. Whether we are Socialists or Conservatives, unless we face the facts we shall lose our way and lose our battle.

Some twenty years ago a leading Socialist in Germany alluded to me sarcastically as "the sentimentalist." Only a year or so ago when I was opposing the erroneous eco-

nomic claim that "labor" creates all wealth, one of my Socialist contemporaries remarked patronisingly that "Blatchford's early work had no doubt a useful influence upon those who prefer sentiment to clean economics." Sentiment, which in my case consists of good will and good sense, is very obnoxious to the "clean economic" mind.

However, I am going to show our young men in a hurry, that Socialism, Communism and the Equality of Mankind cannot stand without sentiment and are not justified by what my contemporary called "clean economics."

Labor Doesn't Make All Wealth.

Only a week or two since, I read in a leading Socialist, or, as I should call it, Bolshevik paper, the state-

ment that "Labor creates all wealth, and Labor should enjoy all wealth."

If that means, as in this case it did mean, that manual labor creates all wealth, it is not true. If we claim that all wealth is produced by "work," meaning by work of human hands **AND BRAINS**, this is true. But the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is not based upon work, it is based upon labor.

Does the collier create the coal? Does the milkman create the cow? Does the farm laborer create the soil? No, of course not.

Do the collier and the milkman and the laborer produce the coal and the milk and the corn? No, they only help to produce those things.

Let us begin at the beginning. Take the case of the ape. The ape is as strong as a man and as active. Yet the ape cannot make a watch, or build a boat, or sink a mine. Why? Simply because the ape has not the brain to do what men can do. If men were exactly as they are, but had the brains of apes, they could do only what the ape can do. It is brain power that builds up nations and produces wealth.

This nation which we call English was not created by manual labor. It was built up, during centuries of toil and strife, by men of exceptional intellect, or energy or courage. England was made by statesmen, barons, soldiers, sailors, adventurers, inventors, lawyers, thinkers, scholars, merchants, managers and leaders of all kinds.

In no country and in no age have the bulk of the people led, or initiated, or organized, or invented or discovered. England was made England by the best brains of the English. Many of the best brains were found amongst the manual workers, but in no sense can it be pretended that the manual workers as manual workers created England.

If the thing created is the rightful property of the creator, then England as we know it today is not the property of the manual workers, who all through its history have played a subordinate part.

That section of the manual workers, who at present very unjustifiably dignify themselves by the name of the proletariat, and demand as their right the dictatorial control of the nation, are in nowise different from the bulk of the manual workers of other ages. The theories they proclaim, the shibboleths they mouth so glibly, are not of their discovery or devising.

Every one of the dogmas they shout so loudly and with such confidence has been taught to them by leaders. Their thinking has been done for them very largely by men they have never seen. They themselves, who claim to govern, rest their claim upon what they take to be the wisdom of their leaders.

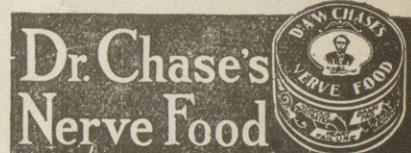


Could Not Sleep

Mr. Earnest Clark, Police Officer, 338 King St., Kingston, Ont., writes:

"For three years I suffered from nervousness and sleeplessness. I believe my condition was brought about by overwork. I had frequent headaches, neuralgic pains and twitching of nerves and muscles. I had indigestion, was short of breath and easily tired. I commenced a treatment of Dr. Chase's Nerve Food, and seven boxes of this medicine cured me of all my symptoms. I am now feeling one hundred per cent. better than I was, and have to thank Dr. Chase's Nerve Food for the good health I am now enjoying."

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"We, the Proletariat, believe we ought to rule the roost because Bohms of Houndsditch tells us so. We create all wealth: The Editor of the 'Red Flag' says so." Such is the actual base upon which rests the claim of the manual workers to rule. It is I, an old Socialist, and sentimentalist, who tell you so.

Pay Proportioned to Output.

Let us turn now to the subject of clean economics. Are we to base our Socialism upon the theory that each member of the community shall have all that he produces, and no more? One man is stronger or more skilled or more clever than his mates. He does twice the work of another. Then he produces twice as much and should be paid twice as much.

But there comes a man who invents a machine that will do the work of a thousand men. He then produces a thousand times as much as a manual worker. He must be paid a thousand times as much, for



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a man is to have all he produces, and no man is to have more than he produces.

Economically the positions of the extra skilful worker and of the inventor are sound. Economically their value is greater than the value of the ordinary manual worker. There is nothing in economics upon which one could rest a claim that these specially gifted and specially valuable men should share with their less valuable fellow-workers.

Let us leave the inventor and speak of the manager. Our young proletarians do not think much of managers. They seem to be under the impression that managers are always over-paid and that any workman could succeed as manager. Both erroneous ideas. Any soldier could be a general, but any soldier could not be a Foch. Any laborer could be a manager, but probably not one laborer in ten thousand could be a Titus Salt or a Whitworth.

We know that one firm will grow rich and another fail, though both firms employ the same class and quality of trade union labor. The difference is in the management.

Manual labor will not save a badly managed firm. But good direction, wise buying and clever selling will cause a firm to succeed. Yet our proletarians will claim that the wealth made by one firm is all made by the manual workers, **though they will never admit that the failure of the other firm is the fault of the manual workers.**

The fact is that where one firm makes more wealth than another, the extra wealth is due to the managers or salesmen. And if a man is to have all he earns then the management is entitled to all the profits. There is no economic answer to such a claim.

Skilled and Unskilled

And although many of the workers refuse to the brainworker that which economically is his due, we do not find them making a like mistake about themselves. For what would the so-called skilled workers say or do if the unskilled workers were to be paid as much as they? "Raise the unskilled wage by all means, but we must have our wages raised proportionately." Why? "Because we are worth more. Because we had to serve our apprenticeship." Well, economically that is a valid claim, **but it destroys the claim of the manual laborer to all the wealth produced by a business in which he is engaged.**

A chorus singer in an opera is paid perhaps four pounds a week. Caruso gets £1,000 a night. Does the manager pay Caruso all that money because he personally loves Caruso? No. He pays it because the singer earns it. When Caruso is billed to sing, the house is sure to be full, and the seats will fetch bigger prices. Caruso is worth more as a money-maker than the chorus singer.

It is the same with novelists,

painters and engineers. One man gets more than others because his work is worth more. These things do not always work out justly. It is not always the best artist or engineer who gets the highest price. But no one can pretend that economically one musician or one manager is worth as much as another, or that George Stevenson had no higher economic value than Bill Smith the fitter.

These are facts. We may contradict them, but we cannot disprove them. They are obvious truths.

Of course we can say, as I do say, that wealth is not good for or necessary to any man, that poverty is bad for every man, that the strong should help the weak and the great should serve the small; but that is not clean economics; it is sentiment, and sense. It is the sentiment and the sense of most of the wisest and noblest men of all ages and all nations.

If you tell me that we are not good enough to act upon that old wisdom, I can only answer that I am very sorry, because I do not believe we shall ever get socialism or equality until we are good enough. We shall never get to our goal by means of hatred and envy and violence: never.

Where Friendly Feeling Comes In.

We are getting ready now, apparently for a foolish and ruinous struggle over the coal scuttle. Meanwhile our men of science, who are seeking for a power that will make coal mines unnecessary and enable us to produce abundance of wealth for all, are complaining that they are hampered by lack of funds. We carry on in this contemptibly foolish manner not because we are bad but because we are unwise.

Which of two courses would be best for the individual and for the nation: to devote our energies to fighting and scrambling for the biggest shares of a poor harvest or to combine and organize to increase the harvest so that there shall be plenty for all?

Prices are high chiefly for two reasons. One is that we are unable or unwilling to increase production, the other is that we have to pay for the war and so are heavily taxed.

Strikes and direct action will not abolish these two causes. Combination, organization and the encouragement of science will abolish both. What the country needs to-day is unity not division, co-operation not strife; more sentiment and less "clean economics."

Here is a trivial fable. Two savages fought murderously for the possession of one canoe. In the struggle the canoe was damaged and both men were wounded. Had they joined together and built another canoe neither would have been wounded and both might have gone a-fishing.

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The Socialist International As Seen By Sidney Webb

(Sidney Webb in "The New Republic", New York.)

Geneva, Switzerland. **T**HE Congress of the Second International, which has just concluded its very successful week's session in this city, has made a notable stride onward, not only in the reconciliation and reunion of the organized working class movement throughout Europe, but also in the definition of the socialism on which it is agreed, and in its translation into a practical programme.

In spite of all the revolutionary attraction exercised by Lenin and his so-called "Moscow International"; in spite, too, of the reports of disunity so diligently promulgated by the whole European press, the Congress at Geneva was attended by a score of different nationalities, officially represented by six times as many delegates, besides groups and sections present in a consultative capacity, or for information only.

Certainly, in most countries, fractions or groups have broken away, but the delegates from Great Britain, Germany, Belgium, Sweden, Denmark, Holland and some other nations could report that either the whole or the vast majority of the organized working class and socialist movements, aggregating a membership of something like twenty millions, maintained their affiliation.

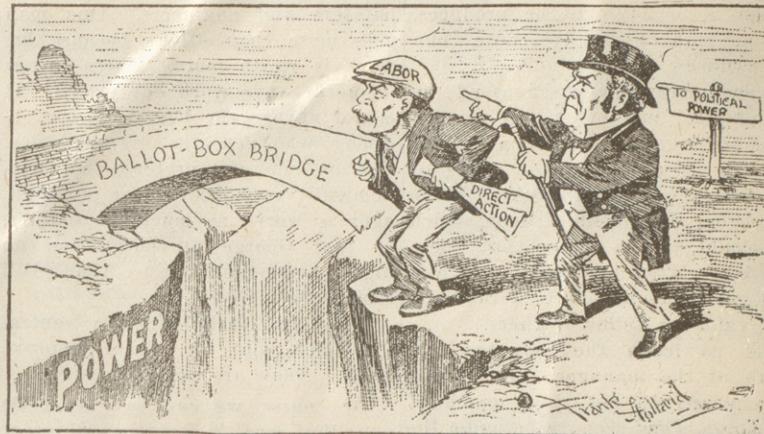
tion, whilst the majority in France and Switzerland is still hesitating.

Norway and Spain have definitely withdrawn, the latter apparently under a misunderstanding; whilst the majority in Italy are definitely for withdrawal. Austria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia were simply absent.

The Congress, whilst not falling so far short in the number of nations represented, was numerically much smaller than the congresses, prior to the war, at Stuttgart, Copenhagen and Amsterdam, respectively.

This falling off in numbers, (and indeed, the entire absence of Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and some others), is to be accounted for mainly by the financial exhaustion, and still more, by the financial dislocation of Europe.

What was not fully foreseen when the arrangements for the Congress were made, a year ago, namely, the mysterious exaggerations of the "Valuta" — the staggering rates of exchange between the respective countries and Switzerland — rendered the journey to Geneva the severest of burdens on impoverished organizations. Even the English five-pound note lost 16 per cent of its value on crossing the frontier; the French notes, 55 per cent; Italian money, over 70 per cent; whilst the Germans had to forego still more,



JOHN BULL— "Why try to jump it, when there's the bridge?"

—John Bull (London).

and the paper money of Austria and Hungary is not so very much better than the paper rubles with which the Soviet government is still flooding Russia.

Only the traveller from the United States makes a profit on the exchange, for even in Switzerland the dollar is at a premium. For everyone else Switzerland is, today, financially as well as geographically, a pays des montagnes, up to which European visitors have to mount from monetary lowlands at various levels of depression, if not actually to climb out of deep crevasses.

The government of Switzerland and the Swiss people are proud of their distinction in maintaining Europe's "soundest" money; and with the idea of preserving its high level (and thus preventing a serious rise of prices from which the Swiss peasants and wage-earners would be the sufferers) no one is allowed to introduce the currency of any country whether notes or coins, or even that of Switzerland itself, to a greater extent than a thousand francs per person. The introduction of gold coins of any nation is absolutely prohibited, a fact of significance to economists, but of little interest to the visitors of today.

Presumably if anyone desires to spend in Swiss travel or sojourn more than a couple of hundred dollars, he must use a bank remittance, a transaction which may affect the rate of exchange for foreign moneys, but would not tend to raise Swiss prices. So strictly is this prohibition enforced that every traveller is singly and severely questioned at the frontier, and here and there one is searched from top to toe. The fine for trying to bring in more than a thousand francs in any currency whatsoever is heavy, and (as one English visitor lately found to his cost) it is ruthlessly exacted. The net result is to make it almost impossible for anyone from Eastern and Central Europe to visit Switzerland unless he is a "war profiteer," or has managed to retain his previous wealth.

It may be mentioned that for the international conference of coal miners, which has just been held, the Miners' Federation of Great

Britain, today the largest and most powerful labor organization of the world, generously offered to bear the whole expense, in attending the conference, of the delegates of the miners' unions of Austria and some other impoverished countries.

To return to the Second International itself (so-called because of the interval between the First International of 1864-1873, and the reorganization in 1889), the most marked feature of the Geneva Congress was the hearty cordiality of the delegates, one to another, the unbroken courtesy and kindly urbanity of all the proceedings, the obviously genuine "international" good feeling. Amid all the difficulties of three languages, necessitating the double translation, not only of every speech, but also of every notice or direction from the presidential chair; throughout the heat of sessions lasting, sometimes, from nine in the morning until midnight; with a small and somewhat unreasonably insistent minority among the British delegation claiming that even its verbal amendments should be discussed as well as voted on, the Congress held on persistently, politely and entirely amicably to its main purpose. Indeed, the half a hundred newspaper reporters who attended from all the nations of the world were wholly disappointed in their desire for sensational "copy."

Absolutely the only incident of the sort was a demonstration, toward the close of one afternoon's proceedings, by an organized gang of Genevan artisans, belonging to an extreme Communist faction, who took advantage of the free and open gallery to raise a clamor against the Congress itself, denouncing all the delegates, without exception, as "assassins," "scoundrels" and "traitors" to the working class movement. This was, in itself, so picturesque an example of revolutionary factiousness, whilst the appearance and gestures of the demonstrators themselves were so exactly true to type, that the Congress adjourned in great hilarity.

The main achievement of the Congress—one of some political importance to Europe—was the complete reconciliation between the organi-

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ized working class and socialist movements of the nations lately at war with each other.

International unity was shattered when the war broke out, and deep feelings of indignation entertained, especially by Belgium and France, against the German Social Democratic party for its failure to break with the imperialist German government that was violating the independence of Belgium and committing such terrible misdeeds against civilians, and have hitherto prevented any formal reconciliation. After six years the breach is now healed.

The Belgian delegates, supported by the French, insisted on raising the question of whose was the "war guilt?" The Congress, according to custom, referred it to a committee on which every nationality was strongly represented. In the committee a few dignified speeches were made; the German delegates made a manly confession of their failure, and expressed their sincere regret that they had been misled; and an affecting scene of reconciliation took place, in which the delegates embraced each other. The declaration was reported to the Congress, where it was received with heartfelt applause, the Belgian spokesman, with the concurrence of the French, and the support of every other nationality represented, promising that the past should be no more referred to, and expressing the unanimous determination of the European working class and socialist movements no longer to permit themselves to be divided in the pursuit of their common aims.

This reunion of hearts will be of political importance in European politics. It greatly increases the difficulty that the statesmen will have in restarting the war, under any pretext. European labor is again a power to be counted with. The weapon of an international strike of miners and transport workers against any further occupation of Germany (such as the Ruhr district), or against any extensive military intervention in defence of the insane megalomania of the Polish government, becomes a possibility to be reckoned with.

The lengthy and declamatory resolutions voted by the Congress, as is usual at such gatherings, are of interest more as indications of the trend of socialist and trade union thought throughout Europe than for any executive force that they may claim. The Congress expressed itself wholeheartedly against war, and for the immediate economic reconstruction of the bankrupt countries of Europe. It called for active government intervention in controlling the import of foodstuffs and raw materials, in order that the ruined nations might not be deprived, merely as the result of the competition of richer nations, of their indispensable quota of the supplies available. The Congress was emphatic and impartial in its condem-

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nation of imperialism, militarism, and the repression by force of subject races or minorities striving to exert their rights to "self-determination."

But perhaps more important than all these was the attempt made by the Congress to define clearly its position in contrast with that of the Bolshevism of Soviet Russia, and to propound, without equivocation,

what the socialism of the organized labor movement in Western, Northern and Central Europe really means and proposes as distinguished from the declarations and achievements of Lenin.

In the first place, the Genevan Congress declared emphatically, in a long and precisely formulated resolution, that it repudiated any "dictatorship," and all violence,

and that is stood for complete democracy and the supremacy of the Parliamentary government, with universal suffrage in geographical constituencies. This is to be distinguished from liberalism, by Parliament being made supreme also over the economic and industrial administration of the community, as over its purely political business. A great part is to be played, in co-operation with the Parliament, by the voluntarily arising trade unions and professional associations, representing the common interests and desires of those pursuing a particular vocation.

To such bodies, severally or in combination, Parliament is to look for advice, for complaints and for criticism relating to their respective vocations; and to them may be delegated such powers of vocational self-government (as distinguished from the management of industrial undertakings) as may from time to time be found expedient.

The practical proposals of socialism for the administration of industries and services were formulated by the Congress in a long and detailed report on "Socialization," which emphasizes the inevitable gradualness of the process, one great industry or service being dealt with at a time according as each becomes ripe for nationalization or municipalization.

It is pointed out that this necessary gradualness of the process negatives any idea of confiscation, as this would not merely be inequitable to the individual owners chosen for expropriation, but would also have the effect of paralyzing capitalist industry, on which we must continue to depend for those products and services which cannot be immediately "socialized".

The Congress accordingly declared for compensation for expropriated owners, the funds to be derived from taxation of property owners on income and capital (including both death duties and a limitation of the amount of inheritance).

With regard to industrial administration, the Congress (a) sharply separates Parliamentary control from actual management; (b) entrusts the management of each nationalized industry to a tripartite national board, representing the mass of workers, the management and technicians, with the consumers and the community as a whole (the "Plumb plan"); (c) suggests district councils and works committees (Mr. Justice Sankey's proposal for the British coal mines); and (d) a joint committee of the management and each separately organized vocation for collective bargaining (as is common in England today).

It is to be noted that very few industries—not a dozen in all—are suggested for "nationalization." The number entrusted to the municipalities and other local authorities may be much larger. But the

(Continued on page 12.)

Economic Democracy

Second Part of Review of Major Douglas' Book.

(J. A. STEVENSON)

MAJOR Douglas then proceeds to offer a plan of economic reconstruction. Poverty is largely artificial; during the war production decreased in Britain but the standard of living improved because prices and the production of luxuries were controlled and a liberal wage distribution was maintained. The starting point he declares to be a reasonable uniform and plentiful distribution of the necessities of life; their production can always be assured. Now every individual has inalienable credit of one kind, potential effort over a given period of time. It follows that the real unit of the world's currency should be what Major Douglas calls "the time energy unit." Time is a measurable factor and the number of time energy units required for a given process can be ascertained. It is perfectly possible to estimate the absolute production of foodstuffs required by the world's population; the time energy units required to produce them; and the time-energy units approximately available. Major Douglas then makes the amazing statement that the food subsistence basis of the civilized world represents a few minutes work per day for all adults between 18 and 40.

The same principle can be applied to clothing, housing and other items. If exploitation efforts were eliminated, he claims that three hours work per head per day would be ample for meeting consumption depreciation of all the factors of modern life, if proper direction were applied and scientific processes utilized. The aim is to produce a definite programme of necessities with a minimum expenditure of time energy units. He then states the general answer to the problem in the four following propositions which he claims represent an effort to arrive at the Just Price.

1. Natural resources are common property and the means for their exploitation should also be common property.

2. The payment to be made to the worker, no matter what the unit adopted, is the sum necessary to enable him to buy a definite share of ultimate products, irrespective of the time taken to produce them.

3. The payment to be made to the improver of process, including direction, is to be based on the rate of decrease of time human-energy units resulting from the improvement and is to take the form of an extension of facilities for further improvement in the same or other process.

4. Labor is not interchangeable; product is.

Major Douglas says he need make no attempt to prove these propositions as their validity rests on equity. Their great merit is that while the distribution of the product of industry is fundamentally involved and the inducements to vary the articles produced are clearly modified to a degree which could have profound effects upon the industrial situation the proposals avoid any extension of bureaucracy in the accepted sense and have no tinge of State Socialism. It may be argued that the principles are incapable of immediate embodiment but it should not be forgotten that many countries are faced with an economic breakdown as the result of the inflation of their currency by the capitalization of negative values and there is every probability that for these communities new economic systems will have to be devised.

It may be maintained that proposition 2 involves the confiscation of existing plants which would work gross hardships to owners. But Major Douglas contends by reason of the calculations in his accounting process which is based on practical experience that the community has already bought and paid for, many times over, the whole of the plant used in manufacturing processes, the purchase price being included in the selling price of the articles produced and representing in the ultim-

ate effort of some sort but for the immediate present a rise in the cost of living. He asserts that if the community can use the plant it is quite entitled to it apart from the consideration that under proper conditions it would be quite possible to satisfy every reasonable requirement of the present owners under the changed conditions.

But such a problem is capable of compromise. Major Douglas wants to see the community in possession of a census of its material requirements and equipped with a programme such as he outlined either based on these requirements or on the indirect satisfaction of them by the processes of barter with similar communities. He wants the community to have full power of credit, i.e., to draw on the collective potential capacity to do work. Under such conditions the community can be regarded as a single undertaking and every individual comprised within it would be in the position of a bondholder entitled to an equal share of the product. The distribution of the product would simply be a problem of the arbitrary adjustment of prices to fit the dimensions of a periodical order to pay and Major Douglas claims that such prices as measured by existing methods would never exceed cost.

He would make this annual order to pay inalienable but implying the

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assumption that a definite percentage of each individual's stock of time energy units was freely placed at the disposal of the community. He would grade the time energy units so that the lowest grade would represent the poorest capacity multiplied by the time factor. He would further grade all adults on entering productive industry and let the least attractive work be done by the agency of the lowest time energy units. The possession of a definite grade of time energy units would be the absolute qualification for each class of employment which means that proved ability to render special service would be the qualification for facilities to render serv-

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ice but would not affect the division of the product.

Major Douglas then claims that under these conditions there would be possible absolute equality, both personal and social. All improvements in process would be to the general benefit while the reward of specific ability would be exactly that which experience shows to be most satisfactory. No question of material remuneration would enter into the problem of administration. Economic incentive to competition would disappear, save in the realm of efficiency and with it would be banished the primary cause of war.

Major Douglas devotes Chapter IX to a close examination of the

existing financial system especially the aspects of it presented by the war debt and the excess profits tax. He firmly maintains that as credit is derived from the community it should be accounted for to the community. In respect to the war debt he dismisses the idea of a levy on capital but would redistribute the national debt so that no holding of over \$5,000 would be permitted and all would hold a portion. The new society which Major Douglas proposes would carry on production costed on a uniform system open to inspection. All payments for materials and plants would be made through a central credit organization and plant increases would be an addition to the existing national debt. The selling price of the product would be adjusted to the effective demand and all manufacturing and agriculture would be done within broad limits to a programme. Payment for service rendered would be made somewhat on these lines: It might be assumed that a certain production centre had a curve of efficiency varying with the output. This centre would be rated as responsible for a programme fixed over a given time such that this efficiency would be a maximum when considered with

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reference to say a standard six-hour day. On this basis the amount of money available for distribution in respect of labor and staff charges could be estimated by methods familiar to any manufacturer. A considerable bonus together with a recognized claim to promotion would fall to any individual who by the suggestion of improved methods can for the fixed programme reduce the hours worked by his particular factory or department. Major Douglas then sets forth the benefits which he believes would be inevitable. There would be an immediate fall in prices which would be cumulative and consequently a rise in the purchasing power of money. A wider basis of financial distribution would widen the effective demand for a large variety of products and banish the spectre of unemployment. There would be sufficient incentive to produce but there would be communal control of undesirable production through the agency of credit and there would be incentive to efficiency. Individual initiative would be restored and the need for a huge bureaucracy eliminated.

Chapter X is devoted chiefly to an exact statement of the Just Price illustrated by concrete examples and a further discussion of the problem of the war debt. Chapter XI contains a criticism of the League of Nations, which he concludes must fail, under the present economic system. An effective League of Free Peoples postulates the abolition of the competitive basis of society and the substitution of the co-operative commonwealth.

The last Chapter is a brief summary of the whole case. Major Douglas asserts that his policy is aimed at producing a society based "on the unfettered freedom of the individual to co-operate in a state of affairs in which community of interest and individual interest are merely different aspects of the same thing. It is believed that the material basis of such a society involves the administration of credit by a decentralized local authority; the placing of the control of process entirely in the hands of the organized pro-



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Organized Sept. 1916

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April, 1919.

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About the Miners

THE threatened strike of miners in Great Britain has been delayed for a conference between the miners' representatives and the mine owners, and it looks as if a path might be found leading away from the national calamity of a shut-down on coal production. But the troubles between the workers and the owners will not be settled in any peaceful manner if learned writers like one, writing from Scotland in a local paper, were expressive of an influential body of thought in the tight little isle. Fortunately they are not notably expressive, though they are still bad enough in a bad situation.

The writer referred to thinks it a sign of good humor because somebody suggests that Sir Robert Horne and Mr. Robert Smillie, the one the spokesman for the government and the other the spokesman for the miners, both of them Scots, should get together and tell funny stories. He says the prospect would be alluring, if it were not that Mr. Smillie has never been known to tell a funny story in his lifetime, while Sir Robert Horne could tell stories all day. I should not expect Smillie to be much of a comedian, though that is hardly against him, and I am not sure that a representative of a government responsible for governing forty million persons or so should be glorified for his ability to tell funny stories all day.

The writer proceeds:

"He (Smillie) has eyes only for the black side of life, and as he becomes older his vision fixes more and more not on the future but on the past, when he was a pit lad and the conditions of mining, and, still more, the abominable housing in Lanarkshire, made life a sorry pilgrimage for the unfortunate victims. We have travelled a long way since then, and the miner is now the pampered among workmen. Still, as old men often do, Mr. Smillie lives in the past. I remember him once confessing to me that the iron had entered into his soul. No, there would be little story-telling, as we use the phrase, on the side of Mr. Smillie. But Sir Robert Horne could tell stories all

day, and just the stories, too, that Mr. Smillie, if he were not so much soured, would enjoy, for Sir Robert was brought up in a Slamannan manse and knows all about the miners' life."

Bob Smillie, whom I also happen to know personally, has some of the marks of the faults of his up-bringing, of the disadvantages of his heridity and environment, for which it would be grossly unjust to blame him, as is sometimes done, and there is no doubt in many minds, including those of many of the miners, that he occasionally "gaes owre faur." But it was nevertheless a Godsend to the miners that there was such a man as he to scowl and scold so long on the black side of life. If we have travelled a long way from the conditions of mining and the abominable housing conditions in Lanarkshire that made life a sorry pilgrimage for the unfortunate victims, let it be remembered that Bob Smillie was one of the unfortunate victims and that to him and a band of fellow-stalwarts is primarily due the fact that such travel has been accomplished.

Still, if we have travelled much, we have still a long way to go. It is a burlesque to say that the Lanarkshire miner is some pampered pet. His working hours are necessarily cheerless, hard and dangerous, despite the ameliorations of later years, such as the shorter workday, the safety sciences and the pit-head conveniences. His wages are much higher than they were, but whether, in view of advanced costs of living, they mean any noteworthy real improvement, is open to debate. His housing is better generally, but not a great deal in many places. It is less than a month since a keen observer from the region spoken of told me of things as they are now, and I cannot see that there has been striking advance from the things as I knew them first-hand, fifteen to twenty-five years ago. At that, I believe they are better than in some mining regions of the United States and of Canada itself, and a Bob Smillie of the new world, rising from the black and keeping his eye on the black, might be an excellent thing up to certain points which could be quite readily defined.

The sense of humor is sometimes a saving sense, but distorted notions of humor are sometimes worse than rage and tears we know, merely intensifying both, to a stage where they get beyond our understanding and control.

Kennedy Crone.

Collective Bargaining

FOR the benefit of those persons who regard trade unions with an unfavorable eye and who are frequently to be found extolling the glorious privilege of individual action there should be commended the following utterance of Mr. J. B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor in the United States Government, himself a miner, and who has spent a strenuous lifetime studying labor problems both from without and within. Mr. Wilson says:

"We have but to visualize familiar facts in order to see what individual bargaining by wage workers for employment really is; we may thus see it as wage workers not only see it, but as they often harshly feel it. Consider the picture. A solitary wage worker faces a foreman whom he asks for work to do. Back of him a shadowy mass of individual bargainers eager for the job. Fronting him the foreman upon whose word his livelihood depends. Over the foreman a superintendent whom the foreman must satisfy. Rising above both, rank upon rank, managers, directors, stock holders, all to be satisfied by superintendents and foremen, and each rank subservient to the rank above it. The interests of all but the solitary bargainer for a job are knitted together into a collective self interest which instinctively dictates for wages the least that the labor market will allow — a market tense with competition for workers. Even this is not all. For that collective interest is permeated with similar ones through interlocked directorates and interlaced stockholding, vitalized it may be with gentlemen's agreements and by business coercion or fear of it. At the outer edge of all a lone wage worker bargains for work; bargains in a glutted labor market, bargains individually! Before these gigantic collectivities of employing interests a wage worker bargaining individually for work is as impotent and negligible as a mediaeval peasant before the council of a king."

Will clerical workers in particular please note?

George Daniels.

Bade Farewell to Prof. J. A. Dale

Complimentary Dinner at the Windsor Hotel With Presentation of Silver Case.

(Gazette, Sept. 29.)

About a hundred and twenty-five of the Montreal friends of Prof. J. A. Dale, M. A., (Oxon.), who for twelve years past was Macdonald Professor of Education at McGill University, met last evening at the Oak Room of the Windsor Hotel to tender Prof. Dale a formal farewell on the occasion of his appointment to a professorship at Toronto University, which he assumed some time ago, coming to Montreal for the farewell visit. During the course of the evening Prof. Dale was presented with an address and a suitably engraved cigarette case, which he acknowledged in a sympathetic manner, expressing regret at severing his long-time connection with McGill and the public service of Montreal, which he considered was a matter that might well engage the attention of university men as part of the body politic. The presentation was made by Mr. Francis A. Hankin, whose eulogium of Prof. Dale's work for the general good of the University and the city was greeted with much applause.

The chair at the dinner was taken by Mr. Howard S. Ross, K. C., while with him at the head table were Mr. Justice Weir, Rev. Dr. Symonds, and a number of other well known educationalists and sociologists. There were many representatives of the City Improvement League and other societies with which Prof. Dale had been identified.

Prof. Dale said that after twelve years assiduous work and equally assiduous speaking in Montreal he was glad to meet his old friends again, and to find them willing once again to listen to him.

Prof. Dale said he had tried to preserve an equable mind in extraordinary times, but the hope of today was hard to find, while the hopelessness of it was on the surface everywhere, and any thinking man looking over the disturbed world could but find subject for anxiety and despondency. We were today facing a position where men were commanded to live decent lives in conditions that made this almost impossible — which did not give much hope.

"The reactions and recreations of the past ten years," he said, "have made serious inroads on the outlook for hope, and I feel that this is largely a crippled generation."

The mid-Victorian period, with its smug prosperity, had given rise to an illusive hope of permanence, dreams of easy optimism, and ideas of a comfortable and easy civilization which on the whole was not knowingly unjust. Suddenly this had

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been found to be working wrongly, and causing much misery, with shocking discovery that apparent prosperity was the cause of this misery, while the war had left the world morally and spiritually lying in ruins. "The war itself, that outburst of brutal folly, gave the lie to our highest ideals, such as that reason was greater than force when it came to dealing between nations."

People today, he said, were familiar with poverty, misery and death, but miseries might come and go, while man in the mass remained indomitable, and no matter what might individually happen the race still held its head high. It was idle to say that weakness and destruction were human nature, because strength and construction were equally human nature, and the hope for the future should be based on the immense variety in humanity, the really vital thing being the inevitable determination of human forces to push upward. The only certainty was to tell the truth when you saw it.

But, said Prof. Dale, through all the upsetting of old institutions and ideas, there could be no doubt of the progress of the world and the increasing organization of mankind for betterment gave reason for hope that through the present unrest there would come something better.

Following the presentation to Prof. Dale addresses were given by Mr. James Wright, Mr. Howard Falk, Mr. Justice Weir and others.

:o:

DANGEROUS FISH

Jones was talking to some friends of a fishing-trip he was contemplating on his holiday.

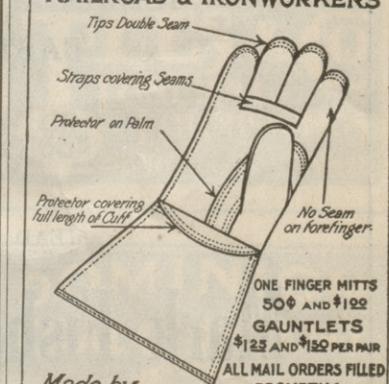
"Are there any trout up there?" questioned one of the friends.

"Trout? Thousands of 'em," replied the other enthusiastically.

"Will they bite easily?"

"Will they?" reiterated Jones. "Why they're absolutely vicious! A man has to hide behind a tree to bait his hook." — "Los Angeles Times."

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(From Our Own Correspondent)

Glasgow, September 11.



James Gibson

IN civic enterprise Glasgow with justice claims to be a pioneer, and among the municipal services in which the city has led the way is that of the supply of electricity for a multitude of purposes. The Department is one of the youngest among the Corporation's many sectional activities, and it is one, too, which has perhaps shown the greatest expansion since its inception. It is a comparatively short hark back to 1890, when the first power sections were erected in Miller Street and in John Street. Then came a third station in Waterloo Street in 1893, followed by those at Port Dundas and St. Andrew's Cross, which were built and equipped in 1900-04. The demand for current, however, continued to increase, and in ten years the latter stations were nearly at the economical limit of their

capacities, while extensions were impracticable for a variety of reasons. Mr. W. W. Lackie, then chief engineer and manager, advised the Corporation to secure a site where abundant supplies of condensing water would be available, where coal could be run direct by rail, and where the distance from the load centre would not be excessive.

Dalmarnock, on the bank of the Clyde, was chosen as possessing these advantages, and as the erection of a new station of high efficiency was a big engineering and financial proposition, it was decided to proceed with the work in two main sections. The first of these has been practically completed, and was inspected and efficiently inaugurated this week, the function being attended by members of the Corporation and other bodies, and by a representative gathering of experts interested in the latest development of electrical engineering.

The first section comprises a coal store and coal conveying plant, workshop, two boiler-rooms, turbine room, switch house, control room, and substation. The final stages have been

superintended by Mr. R. B. Mitchell, who succeeded Mr. Lackie, on the latter's appointment as a Commissioner under the Electricity (Supply) Act. Severely plain and business-like, the buildings, which are of brick and reinforced concrete, surmounted by four rather dumpty black chimney stacks, have been a source of speculative interest to strangers using the Dalmarnock Road car route. But for the war the first section would have been in commission some time ago, but a prolonged hang-up was caused by the hostilities. On the other hand, a number of more important contracts were placed early in the struggle, or before the recent big increases in cost took place, and while the portion almost completed will cost round about one and a half millions — considerably in excess of the original estimates — the Committee may congratulate themselves on getting off fairly easily, the station as projected being the largest super station in the United Kingdom, and, though several important schemes are under way in the South, none will be larger in extent or output than Dalmarnock.

It has not yet been decided when the second section will be begun, but if the demand for current continues to increase the work may have to be faced at a comparatively early date. Some interesting details were given to me during a tour of the first section of the Station. The coal storage capacity is 75,000 tons, and the method of transport adopted throughout is of travelling conveyors on a principle suggestive of moving buckets in a hopper dredger. There will be five turbo-alternator sets when the section is completed. One has been put in commission, two are under construction and should be ready for the winter load, and the remaining two are to be completed next summer. Each set is of 24,000 horse power and capable of producing about 450,000 units per 24 hours. The sets will be driven by 18 boilers, with all the latest mechanical appliances, and the first portion of the boiler-room, containing 8 boilers, is complete, the second portion being in course of construction. Economical handling has been the watchword, and it is stated that as much energy will be produced from two lbs. of coal as is derived from three pounds at the other stations. At the end of each turbine set is a chamber in which there is a 36-inch circulating pump which draws filtered water for the steam condensers from a culvert connection with the Clyde, the water being returned to the river further downstream by a second culvert. It is likely that the river supply will be largely used in future for steam purposes.

The switch-house is entirely separate from the other departments, and accommodates the step-up transformers connected with the main generators, the main switch-board room, and the control room. The latter is described as the pulse of the station, all the switches being operated from this point, in which the electrical measuring instruments and signalling devices are situated, thus giving ready means of communication between the control room and the turbine room. In the

main switch-room "safety first" has been the motto — all "live" parts having been specially and adequately insulated. To a layman the works suggest a compound of the fearful and wonderful, but experts reach the point of fervid enthusiasm over the structure and equipment, which, as already indicated, has given the lead in the matter of power super-stations.

JAMES GIBSON.

AIDS TO EJECTION

When the Allies get ready to grab the Turks and throw them out of Europe, these baggy breeches they wear ought to make the job easy.— "Lexington Herald."

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THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

Continued from page 5.)

whole production, as well as distribution of household requisites, is assigned as the sphere of the voluntary consumers' co-operative societies, which are unequivocally recognized as part of the organization of the socialist commonwealth.

A third contrast with Lenin was presented in the specific revision of the definition of what was meant by the term Labor (arbeiterclasse proletariat). By this classic terminology of European socialism, the Congress declared was meant, not only the manual working wage-earners, but also the intellectual workers of every kind, the independent handicraftsmen and peasants, and all those who personally cooperate in the production of utilities of any sort. The term Labor (arbeiterclasse proletariat) is thus officially declared to exclude, among healthy adults, only those who idly "live by owning."

The deliberate adoption, by the British Labor Party a couple of years ago, of the phrase "workers by hand or by brain" is thus internationally endorsed and extended to all countries.

The British Labor party was, moreover, paid the compliment of being unanimously entrusted with the task of negotiating with the fractions and sections not represented at Geneva, in order to bring them once more in affiliation. Mr. Arthur Henderson was elected President; Mr. J. H. Thomas, Treasurer, and Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald, a member of the new international executive of nine members, which was directed to meet regularly in London, to which it is proposed and hoped to transfer (at least temporarily) the seat of the International Socialist Bureau and of the Secretariat (over which, for the moment, M. Camille Huysmans will continue to preside in Brussels).

What Geneva has done, in short, is to declare emphatically against the acts and declarations of Lenin and Soviet Russia; to adopt, as the definition and practical programme

of its socialism, an essentially Anglo-Saxon and even Fabian expression; and, with German consent, to replace the typically "continental" complexion of its theory and even its phraseology, by something much more in consonance with English experience.

In 1815, after the battle of Waterloo, with some troubled interval, the English middle class liberalism gradually penetrated European political institutions. It looks as if, after the Peace of Versailles, with rather less interval, the opinions and practical proposals to which experience has brought the British labor movement may to a like extent, just at the moment when they may be assuming power, penetrate the European socialist and trade union organizations. Why does the trade union and socialist movement of the United States, which can both teach and learn something, persist in remaining outside this sane and useful world movement?

GATHERING THE VOTE

—Lo—"Banks made a bad mistake when he started kissing all the babies."

—Le—Should say so. His opponent, Miss Swell-looker, took the hint and started in on the fathers." —"Yonkers Statesman."

THE PLACE FOR HIM

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"What did you say?"

"Advised him to go to Reno." —"Boston Transcript."

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"I have heard their phonograph selections." — "Boston Transcript."

TRAGEDIES OF THE CRIME WAVE

—Cook—Cheer up, Liz! It ain't your fault if the silver was stole!"

Maid—"N-no, but I'd just cleaned it all!" — "London Opinion."

AND THE FATHER, TOO

"A standing account
Is a queer thing, said Duns;
The longer it stands,
The longer it runs."
— "Milwaukee Sentinel."

CLASSIFIED

"What do you understand by 'class legislation'?"

"I haven't quite made up my mind," said Farmer Corntassel, "except as far as to decide that some of the legislation up to our State-house sounds like it might have come from the infant class." — "Washington Star."

OUR FISH

A petrified fish about fifty feet long has been discovered in Utah. This is said to be the largest sardine and the smallest whale America has ever produced. — "Punch."

MIXED TROUBLES

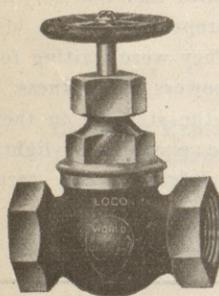
The soap-box orator found many things to criticize.

"And what do we do?" he cried. "We pursue the shadow, the bubble bursts, and leaves but ashes in our empty hands!" — "New York Evening Post."



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The people of a nation cannot advance beyond the men who make its laws, and the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada exists to see to it that the workers by hand and brain are directly represented in the law-making bodies of the Dominion; to find, train and elect the right men of our own class in order to secure the kind of legislation that will protect and advance the interests of the workers.

It will wage warfare on plutocracy, despotism, economic privileges, and upon all the evil forces which burden the people and rob them of that happiness of living which is their fundamental right.

It is a non-partisan educational and political association, and because of the manner in which it is organized can never become the instrument or plaything of a small group of any class, particularly of wealthy men. The aim is the attainment of true democracy.

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To support all municipal, provincial and federal educational plans where the evident purpose is to raise the standard of education in enlightened and progressive ways; to present truthfully and fearlessly through the medium of Fifth Sunday Meetings and our own press, the "Canadian Railroader", the latest and most important political, social and industrial developments;

To advocate the abolition of property qualifications for the franchise or for election to public office; the adoption of the Initiative, Referendum, and Recall, and of proportional representation in all forms of public government; universal suffrage for both sexes, on the basis of one person, one vote; the transfer of taxes from improvements, and all products of labor, to land values, incomes and inheritances;

To advocate prison reform, including introduction of the honor and segregation systems, and abolition of contract labor; the enactment and rigid enforcement of child labor laws; pensions for mothers with dependent children; regulation of immigration to prevent lowering of industrial, political or social standards; development of the postal savings and parcel post systems; financial and other assistance to farmers through co-operative banks and by other means; government development of co-operative producing and trading associations for the benefit of the consumer;

To advocate extension of workmen's housing schemes and the labor bureau system; provision of technical education for every willing worker, according to his capacities; more effective inspection of buildings, factories, workshops and mines; minimum wages; a rest period of not less than a day and a half per week for every worker; government insurance of workers against sickness, injury and death; maternity benefits and old-age pensions; better Workmen's Compensation Acts; representation of the workers on all public boards and on boards for the supervision of private enterprises; union labor conditions in all government work; adequate pensions and opportunities for soldiers and their dependents;

To advocate freedom of speech and of the press, and a law compelling all newspapers and periodicals to publish in all issues a complete list of shareholders and bondholders.

"The Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada" is financed entirely by its members who contribute \$2 a year in membership fees. If a local has been established in your city \$1 remains in the local treasury and the other dollar is sent by the local organization to our Dominion Headquarters, 316 Lagachetiere Street West, Montreal, Que. In case no local has been established in your community, send the membership fee of \$2.00 directly to Dominion Headquarters.

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"Europe Is Very Ill, Dying"

(Literary Digest)

—Anatole France.

"EUROPE IS VERY ILL, DYING", says Anatole France; and "out of all this disintegration I think but one nation may recover—Russia." Being the convinced Socialist he is, even Russia's chaos does not dismay him. At the same time he writes a letter to the proletariat of France, urging them "to stand firm in the present crisis," and he directs their gaze into ways that must seem conservative. This man, described by the Boston "Transcript" as "the foremost figure in contemporary French letters," was one of the most ardent of French patriots, and at the outbreak of the war grieved that his advanced age did not permit him to carry a gun. His address to workmen appeared in "L'Humanité" (Paris) where he says:

"The proletarian holds momentarily the salvation of France, of Europe, of the world in his hands. The appeal of the Russian Soviets

to the French workmen shows how fearful the danger is. France, deserted first by the United States, then by the sister Latin republics, then by the new states of the East, and now, through the recognition of General Wrangel, at odds with England, stands alone. The situation is dreadful, but you workmen can prevent a catastrophe."

This appeal shows that he is not to be beguiled into throwing his influence on the side of the Third Internationale, yet in an interview for the New York "Evening Post" secured by Joseph Gillomb, he observes of Russia's new birth:

"There is something new coming from that quarter. There is all the travail, strength, and agony of something great being born there. And nothing doomed to early death could rouse such a stir of emotion throughout the entire world. Nothing short of a new and giant spirit could have accomplished what Russian 'Red' armies, bare-footed and half starved, did against a ring of enemies. Of course there are tremendous faults and lacks, elemental crudenesses, there. But that is all the nature of newly born great things. The whole world is reverberating with what is taking place in Poland. . . .

"Socialism, of course, is being born. I mean for the first time Socialism is a tremendous fact instead of an agitating theme only. Socialism in one form or another is the one hope for Europe."

When we come to learn just what Mr. France's Socialism is, it may not seem so very different from the desires of those who do not make use of the word. The solution for Europe's plight, if she is to be saved from death, he sees as "action based on a new spirit, on the common interest and needs of all Europe and of all the world." He adds:

"What each nation did during the war on the constructive side, all the nations together must do if they wish not to be crushed by their common enemy, disintegration. For the maximum effort in the war each nation pooled all its resources and its strength and, theoretically at least, people of that nation were for the time but one family. This on an international plane seems to me the only hope for Europe. To pool in common the resources of the world and to redistribute them on the basis of a common bond and a common need would not only save Europe mate-



He Thinks Europe Sick Unto Death.

Andres Zorn's portrait of Anatole France, who thinks "Socialism is a tremendous fact instead of an agitating theme only."

rially but spiritually, as President Wilson hoped it would be saved.

"But the spirit that made common cause possible within each nation is the very thing that in its ugly and negative aspect works against the same action on an international plane. Patriotism during war means hatred of the other nation as much of love of your own. In this negative sense France's patriotism has grown greatly since the signing of the armistice. It now not only still hates Germany; it has added other nations, notably Russia, to its hatreds. Toward England and Italy, her chief allies, the feeling in France is also anything but love. Even within its own borders, inter-class hatred is growing. Instead of democracy growing we have one class demanding the dictatorship of the proletariat; the other is a return to monarchy. There are signs in France that the idea of monarchy is growing more popular. Take, for instance, the pomp and ceremonials accorded to the burial of Empress Eugénie. Also the mass of French 'bourgeoisie' has grown not only in numbers but also in its essentially 'bourgeois' passion. Formerly Frenchmen fought for their 'seigneur', for that body of customs and laws which for the mass of people means country. But now a great many people have acquired a little property and made investments; and to-day France makes war or peace and Frenchmen fight as their investment dictates. Whether this adds to the sentiment for monarchy in France may be debatable. But what is clear to us and not so much to people outside of France is that the example of England is helping the monarchial idea

in France. Our royalists see across the channel a king on the throne. With characteristic lack of imagination they see only the crown and not the puppet. They do not understand the combination of democratic structure and regal trappings which makes England so inconsistent in form. A Gambetta Republic is what these Royalists want, and that was not far from monarchy."

His complaint respecting President Wilson bears the implication that one man was sufficient, had he persisted, against a whole army of opposing statesmen:

"He came here like some evangelical clergyman of a new faith, full of fire and hope. He honestly believed that he had the only true gospel. I am sure he felt he was working in the name of God. His sincerity was not only beyond suspicion; it fired the masses of war-weary Europe. He felt, and they with him, that before this fire of faith and good-will toward men all the powers of darkness must scatter. It is difficult for Americans to understand what the coming of President Wilson did to the hopes and hearts of European masses. To realize it, however, one need only consider what it did to President Wilson himself. When he came here he was the most acclaimed man in the world. Today he is broken, not only in health and not only in the eyes of Europe, but also in his own country. They were waiting for him here, the powers of darkness. . . . And after the struggle in the dark it was the evangel of light that came out defeated and tarnished with compromise."

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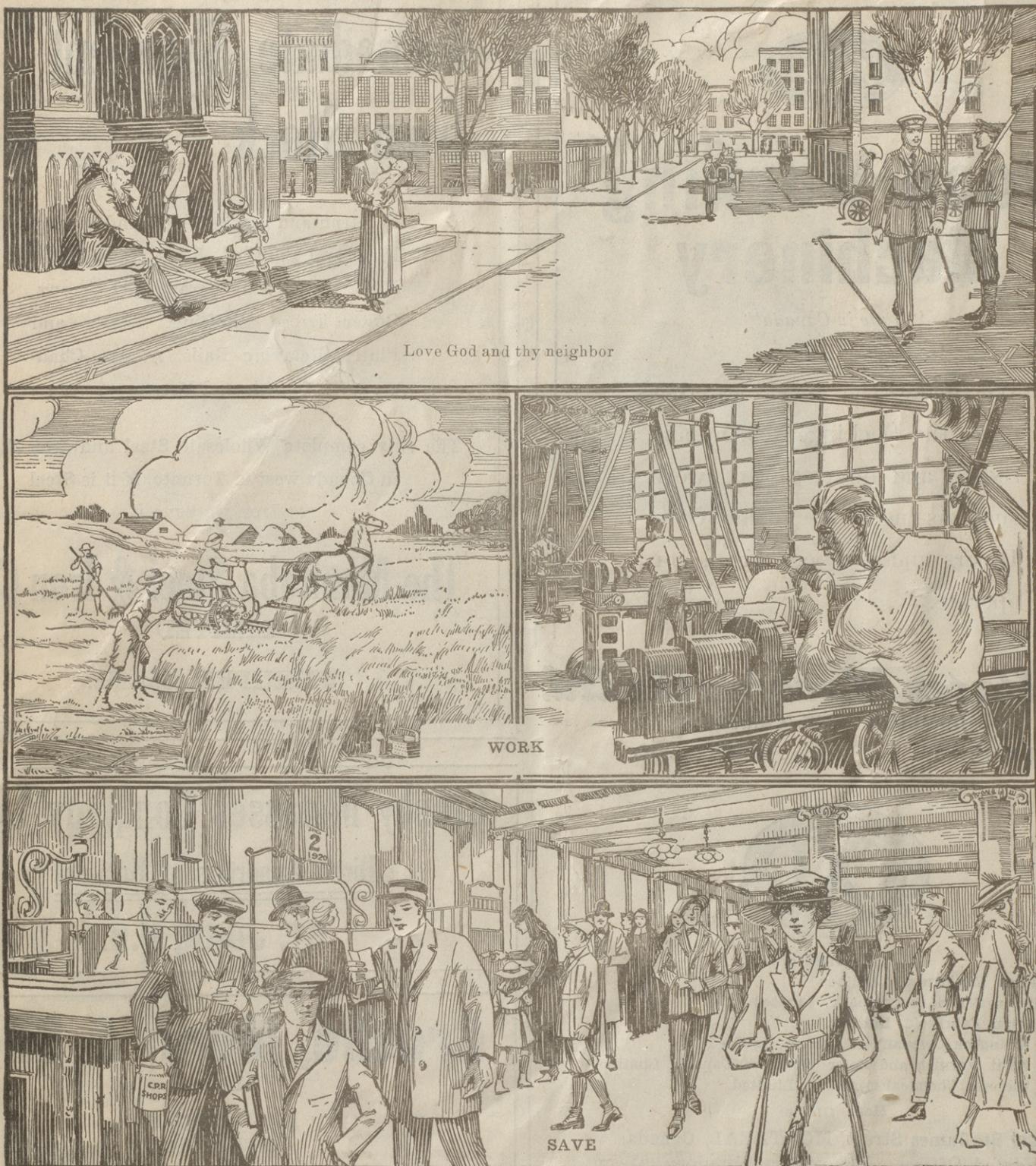
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